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753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

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ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau relationships together with certain coastal analogues.

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[66] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

The Spirit Dance in Relation to the Potlatch

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

[66] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

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is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[87]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[88]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[87] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[88] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

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persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

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gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[72]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native conception of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[73]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[74]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[72] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[73] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[74] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

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better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[75]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[75] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

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the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

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We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies, from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.
[79] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 147.

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stratum of gift-giving. But I do not think anyone wants to do this; it certainly would be confusing. The word would, in consequence, be applicable to cultures in any part of the world. Certainly Olson is not arguing for such a meaning when he contrasts the potlatch of the Quinault with that of the Kwakiutl:

> In the potlatches of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes the features of bitter rivalry, high rates of interest, destruction of goods, fictitious values, and the "fighting with wealth" stand out as pathological social patterns. . . . I mention these points for the reason that the potlatch of the Kwakiutl has long been regarded as typifying the whole potlatch system of the area. Actually it is an extreme type, an example of the lengths to which an institution may be carried. A potlatch like that of the Quinault is far more likely to turn out to be the proto-type. Its pattern remains fairly simple; no deeplaid plots, no egotistical mania surround its inception and execution.[80]

But it does involve formal invitations in order of social position, large accumulations of wealth, primary interest in quantity and distribution, a wealth tallyman, rehearsals, and wealth songs. But more important than all this, perhaps, is the fact that the gifts represented the *wealth of the host* and marked his social position; in distinct contrast to the Plateau where the gifts were *provided by the guests* as well as the host, and the amount furnished by the latter was no reflection of rank.

In a recent study Barnett has attempted to present sufficient evidence in its proper perspective to contribute to a better understanding of the potlatch:

> Above all, the present summary points to a more refined and definitive concept, and consequently to a more circumspect use of the term. It signifies not simply an exchange of gifts, for that custom is too widespread and diversely associated to be the criterion of the potlatch. Neither is the latter fundamentally competitive. It is characterized by certain formal requirements, by an implied equation of social worth with institutionalized liberality, and by its function as a vehicle for publicizing social status.[81]

We have been carried far afield from the discussion of the Spirit Dance as such, but may profitably remain afield for the moment. Lower Chinook ceremonies throw light upon the history of yet another aspect of spirit ceremonialism and of the potlatch: the secret society of the Coast.

[80] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[81] Barnett, *Nature of the Potlatch*, p. 357.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

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Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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177 796 is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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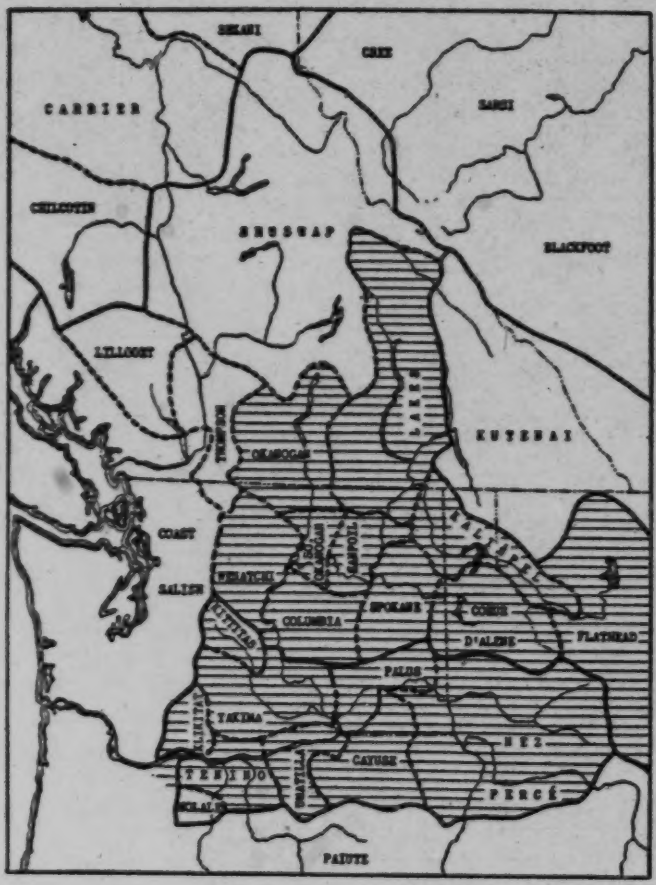

MAP 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

177 796 tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

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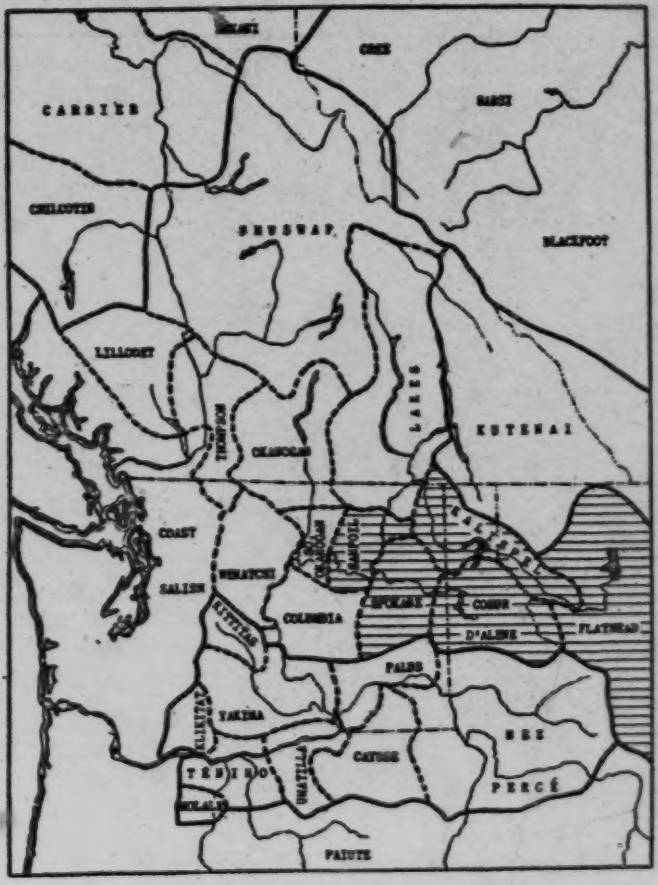
became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,



MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[86]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[86] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[96] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[96] Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 152 f.

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to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes'sakkĭd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes'sakkĭd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

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the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkid' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 158, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

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may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

The Flathead Spirit Dance

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Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'ł, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛlwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ") or a layman (q̓le·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance*.
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

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This formal preliminary period is of four days duration. Each day sweating and singing occupies the mid-afternoon hours. A special sweat house is built for the purpose, holding twelve to fifteen occupants. During the first days the location and other details concerning the lodge are settled, the sponsor selects the center pole and designates one or two men to bring it in, and he names others to prepare the lodge poles. The leader determines the direction and manner in which the strokes should be made in cutting the pole. The expedition is surrounded by ritual practices. Spirit cries are given before actually felling the tree. In bringing it to camp it is carried aloft, never being allowed to touch the ground. From the time this tree is brought in, the sponsor keeps careful watch over it, and over the lodge poles as well, so that their "spirits will not be stolen." During the preparatory period gambling is tabu and feasting is absent. Spirit songs precede each meal because this is an especially vulnerable period. Shamans observe a limited fast.

The dance lodge is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. This is of the elongated tipi type, being constructed of materials taken from several residential lodges. Upon completion, the leader erects the center pole by fixing it in the ground. The upper limbs of the tree are allowed to remain.

At dusk on the fourth evening the sponsor enters the lodge, singing. Meanwhile, in their individual tipis, the others are dressing and painting for the dance. In each tipi, if possible, a shaman is in attendance to ward off harmful influences. Soon the dancers appear at the dance house, men and women taking places on opposite sides of the room. When all have arrived the leader changes his song and dancing follows. He leads the singing and dancing from his position at the center pole, keeping time with a rattle of deer hoofs fixed to the upper end of a vertically held wand. Drums are not used. All of those in attendance join in the singing and dancing, children included. In speaking to the audience the sponsor and all shamans are served by spokesmen.

After a time the sponsor gives way to another who leads the singing and dancing in similar fashion. Each shaman is given an opportunity to lead. Unnecessary conversation, laughing, eating, and smoking are all tabu except for occasional ritual smoking and talking. Shamans may confer, however, concerning visions and a shaman may describe his visions to the audience. Color and variation are added to the dancing by symbolic regalia and actions and spirit impersonations. The dancing of the evening is ended by a dance in which the participants encircle

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the room four times. The dancers return to their lodges but the leader remains.

During the sweating on the afternoon of the fifth day the sponsor announces, "Tonight we shall put out the fires for the Bluejays." Dancers prepare as before, but some paint black spots on their cheeks before going to the dance lodge. The dancing and singing follow the pattern of the preceding evening, until the leader returns to the center pole and shouts, "Now we shall call the Bluejays." A series of four songs is sung; during the last one the dancers utter animal cries and stamp out the fires. A great deal of noise and whistling ensues. Within two or three minutes the leader orders the fires rebuilt. As the fires illuminate the room, several dancers are seen to be absent. The leader addresses the audience (through his spokesman) at intervals during singing: "Our Bluejays will soon be coming; don't laugh at them when they appear."

The Bluejay characters appear with faces, hands, and clothing blackened. These are the ones who earlier painted black spots on the cheeks. Each possesses Bluejay power, the sole requirement for this activity. The characters carry miniature bows and arrows, crudely fabricated during the few moments of absence. They jump and run about erratically, climb onto the rafters of the lodge, and utter shrill, bird-like cries. Some leave the lodge and return with wood for the fires; others fetch water. The audience may now drink, laugh, and converse. Soon the dancing resumes. The dancing is normal except for the Bluejay characters. They sing a song of their own which conflicts in tempo with the dance song, and dance wildly about with no respect for order or time.

One may ask for a pipe. As he smokes, puff by puff, he shouts, "One year; two years; three years," and so forth, until six or seven is reached. This is apparently to speed the passing of time. As the characters dance about they pick up all small articles, such as feathers, strings, and twigs, that are found on the ground. These are secreted in the clothing. Later, a normal dancer may call out, "Let us kill the Bluejay." One or more may be selected in this way: a dancer approaches the character, saying, "Friend, let me care for your property." The Bluejay protests, but after repeated entreaties he gives up, one by one, the articles retrieved from the floor. As his "possessions" are diminished he circles about, faster and faster, shouting, "I'm rich; I'm rich," but meaning, "I'm poor; I'm destitute." Finally, when nothing else is left, he gives up his bow and arrows. Now the dancers say, "Bluejays,

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sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

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Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

TABLE 2. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU RELIGIOUS LIFE*

	Aspects	Klamath	Nez Percé	Umatilla	Tenino	Wishram	Klikitat	Kittitas	Wenatchi	S. Okanogan	Sanpoil	Coeur d'Alène	Kalispel	Flathead	Kutenai	Thompson	Shuswap	Lillooet	Chilcotin	Carrier
Guardian spirit quest	All boys, some girls sent																			
	Pre-puberty																			
	Puberty especially																			
	Given object to deposit at destination																			
	Object of quest indefinite																			
	One night vigils																			
	Prolonged vigils																			
	Vision																			
	Spirit appears as human being																			
	Spirit appears as animal																			
	Spirit may convey any type of power																			
	Inheritance through instruction to spirit																			
	Reticence toward revealing power																			
	Identical quest and vision for shaman and layman																			
Illness	Intrusive spirit																			
	Spirit causes intrusion of object																			
	Spirit loss																			
	Treatment by drawing out process																			
	Shaman served by spokesman																			
	Spirit-ghost concept																			
	Ghost is flame-like																			
	Winter Guardian Spirit Dance																			
	Bluejay complex																			
	Sweat House as deity																			
	First Salmon ceremony																			
	First Products ceremony																			

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lary, the impersonation of spirits, and a symbolic recall of mythological times.

A description of the Kutenai Sun Dance is now in order. The following sketch is incomplete, but incorporates the details most pertinent to this problem.

The dance, which is a tribal ceremony, is held once each year in the spring and lasts for six days. The leader is one experiencing, during the preceding year, an auditory vision or dream of the Sun Dance song. When the time for the dance draws near the leader requests his wife to prepare the Sun Dance doll, a six inch male figure made of buckskin stuffed with grass or deer hair. Two eagle feathers, symbolic of the dance, are placed in the hair at the back of the head. During the preparation of the image, the leader each day smokes himself by standing over a smudge of juniper. When finished the doll is placed at the head of the leader's bed where it remains until the fourth day of the ceremony. The leader now selects an assistant who becomes the master of ceremonies.

This selection inaugurates the three day preparatory period preceding the dance proper. Men are now chosen by the leader to bring in the center pole. The actual tree is selected by the assistant, who follows the dictates of the leader as revealed to the latter by his guardian spirit. Those chosen fell the marked tree, taking care to use the direction and number of strokes requested by the leader, again as determined in his dream. While returning to camp, the tree is not permitted to touch the ground. Upon arrival the limbs are removed, the bark peeled, and this refuse burned. The pole is painted and then placed on supports to keep it above the ground until time of erection. At the same time, others prepare the four foundation poles for the dance lodge, together with the supplementary poles. The preparatory period ends with the digging of the hole for the center pole.

The morning of the fourth day is occupied by sweating; the afternoon with the actual erection of the lodge. This is a tipi of usual type, but exceptionally large, requiring three ordinary covers to enclose it.

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* The table presents traits of religious life typical of the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it. See footnote to Table 1, page 67, for general explanation of charts.

For a type description of the shamanistic "drawing-out process," see Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 205.

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796 Even so it is not large enough for all spectators; the lower edge of the cover is rolled up so that some may stand outside. First the center pole is raised to position. The assistant, clad only in a blanket, steps onto the fork of the poles. The frame is raised a few feet from the ground, then lowered; a second time it is raised higher but once more brought down; on the third attempt it is elevated to full height. The assistant, who has stood in the fork with arms outstretched during this procedure, now ties the center pole to the frame and descends on one of the poles. In the meantime the leader has called upon the Crazy Dog Society to obtain the lodge covering. The members arbitrarily select three tipis in the camp circle and strip them of their covers. These are delivered to the site of the lodge where others attach them to the frame. Throughout these activities spectators are present and engage in singing.

Inside the lodge a bed is prepared for the leader. As viewed from the doorway this is located behind and just to the left of the center pole. To the right of the foot of the bed, or near end, is constructed a tiny model of a sweat lodge, only a few inches high. Between this and the center pole a miniature smudge of juniper twigs is prepared but not lighted. All is now in readiness for the dance.

Just at dusk the assistant enters the leader's tipi and secures the doll. Carrying it, he circumambulates the tipi and then the camp circle. Upon returning to the door of the tipi he proceeds directly to the dance lodge where he places the doll in an upright position at the right of the smudge. The leader now enters and walks around the edge of the lodge to his bed where he sits down. Next the musicians enter and take their positions at the back of the lodge. These include several drummers and three whistlers. The latter stand directly behind the leader with the drummers at their left. With the beating of the drums, the dancers and audience appear. They walk in file to the smudge which has now been lighted. Some throw small fragments of juniper on the smudge. Those who are well return by the same route to positions near the door, while the ailing continue to the opposite side of the lodge. All the circuits are made in clockwise order. During this procession a song to the smudge is sung, called the "song of the dance." Great care is taken that the smudge be kept burning uniformly from the time first lighted until the end of the ceremony. The woman selected for this task remains constantly beside the fire.

When the whole group has assembled, the shamans dance toward the center pole. Each carries an object such as a feather, symbolic of his

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guardian spirit, with which he strokes the pole, now full of sickness because the doll has effected the transfer to it of the ailments of the individuals. The shamans make downward motions on the pole while dancing around it and singing. After a time they attempt to remove the sickness from the bottom where it has been concentrated. As this is gradually achieved the shamans one by one fall helpless to the ground. Members of the audience pick them up and hold them over the smudge in order to revivify them and destroy the sickness. 796

If the attempted removal proves futile the dancers have visions of guns or bows, symbolic of failure. The sickness then remains with the afflicted and another attempt must be made on a later day.

Activity at the pole is sometimes directed at other aspects of tribal welfare. For example, the dancers may attempt to draw game to the pole so that hunting during the succeeding year may be especially productive.

During these performances the dancers are engaged in singing and do not interpret their actions. The leader, however, acts as spokesman for the doll and informs the audience of the success of the shamans. All the while the drummers and whistlers are active. Their lot is a strenuous one, for not only must they perform constantly during the all-night ceremonies but they are not permitted to sleep and must abstain almost completely from food and water. The leader is subjected to unqualified abstinence but he is quite inactive, remaining on his bed throughout. Stationed beside the leader and also each whistler is a lad whose duty it is to walk behind his charge whenever the lodge is left and sweep off his tracks with a broom of branches.

The fifth morning is spent in sweating, the afternoon in preparations for the dance at night. The dance program is identical with that of the fourth night. But at dawn, as the leader starts a new song, the assistant takes the doll and leaves the dance lodge, following, in reverse order, the procedure of bringing it in, After the circuit of the leader's house he "lets the image go," to use the native phrasing. The actual disposal is never revealed. The assistant returns to the dance house and joins the others in a secular dance which serves to terminate the ceremony. Animal hearts and tongues, saved for a long time previously, have been prepared and a great feast is now held. Afterwards the lodge is dismantled and the groups disband.

A Kutenai Sun Dance leader must officiate for three consecutive years or invite death. Votary leadership is apparently unknown, though

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796 a warrior may call upon the sun for help in an emergency. Sun gazing and self-torture have no place in the ceremony.

Leaving the Kutenai temporarily, we may turn to the Spirit Dance of the Flathead. Impressive evidence points to a relationship with the Sun Dance. There is no question of general classification: the Flathead dance is cast in the general mold of the Spirit Dance and revolves around spirit singing; it is not a Sun Dance. But the suggestive analogues with the Sun Dance—analogues which the Flathead share with many other Plateau peoples—deserve careful attention.

First I shall cite parallels with the Kutenai Sun Dance, abbreviating the references as much as possible. The leader receives his commission in a spirit vision; if more than one man has experienced a vision a mutual discussion ensues and one of the number is selected. A four day preparatory period is followed by a four day dance period. Preparations include daily sweating during which dance plans are discussed, arrangement of the dance grounds, and procurement of the center pole. The leader selects the tree and appoints those who are to bring it in; he dictates the manner in which it is to be cut and warns that it must not touch the ground. The lodge, of the elongated tipi type, is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. The frame is assembled and raised, followed immediately by the setting of the center pole. The poles and covering are taken from several dwelling lodges. At dusk of the same day the leader enters the lodge singing and takes his appointed place. Later the dancers and audience appear and enter in ritual order. The dancers carry whistles. The leader stands at the center pole while the dancers circulate around it. On the fifth and sixth nights, smudges of sweet grass are prepared for the revivification of certain of the dancers (Bluejays). The sick attend the dance and are treated by the leader and other dancers. The curative power at this time lies in the center pole and is merely utilized by the dancers. On the evening of the eighth day the leader announces that "it is time to let the tree go," and dancers are named to take charge of it. The tree is carried into the forest, a secular song is sung, the lodge is dismantled, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

177 796 These parallels, though impressive, do not exhaust the Plateau traits duplicating those of the Sun Dance. We find numerous further analogues among nearby Plains tribes. The Flathead, in common with many other Plateau groups, allow the uppermost limbs to remain on

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the center pole. This practice is unquestionably related to the placing of a brush bundle at the top of the pole by most of the Plains tribes, including the neighboring Crow and Blackfoot. Indeed, the Sanpoil speak of the limbs as the perch for "Owl," analogous to the "hawk's nest" of the Sarsi, the "bird's nest" of the Crow, and the "thunderer's nest" of many of the Canadian Plains tribes. The Plains Ojibwa, at least, do in fact leave the upper limbs as a part of the nest.[105]

A relation is apparent between the raising of a dancer in the fork of the lodge poles or nest in order that he may tie the center pole to the frame (Kutenai and others) and the Sanpoil dance ritual in which the leader climbs the center pole and ties the top to a cross beam with his belt. Also, a connection between this feature and the Bluejay complex can be seen: thus among the Crow it is the "bird man" who is raised; during the procedure he imitates the antics of his Eagle guardian, whistling and pretending to fly. Certain Shoshoni dancers "imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat, making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they can, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness." These actions almost exactly duplicate those of the Bluejay dancers among the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Sanpoil.[106]

The offerings of cloth and other small objects made to the tree by the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Plains Cree, and many other Plains groups, is likewise paralleled by the Flathead on the last morning of the dance, to the accompaniment of a song of blessing. This corresponds very closely to Blackfoot and Plains Cree practice.[107]

Smudging plays a very important role in the Spirit Dances of Canadian Plateau groups. Among many of these the material used is juniper, as with the Kutenai; but the Flathead and Spokane favor sweet grass, as in the Plains.[108]

Ritual "talking in opposites" characterizes the Bluejay dancers of the Colville and Flathead. The self-torture dancers in the Sun Dance of the Sarsi also speak with reverse meaning.[109] This custom is not by

[105] Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Crow*, p. 37; Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 254; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 191; Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 279; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Ojibway*, p. 313.

[106] Ray, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 399; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree*, p. 307.

[107] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249; Goddard, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 403; Skinner, *loc. cit.*

[108] Cf. Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 238.

[109] Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 280; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 162.

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any means limited to the Sarsi, however, being found widespread in the Plains in various connections, and occurs in the Southwest also.

The name applied to the dance by the Flathead is significant; it refers specifically to the lodge itself. The same pattern of naming is found among the nearby Gros Ventre and the more distant Arapaho and Arikara.[110]

Flathead Bluejay dancers are identified by black spots painted on the cheeks and, later, blackened faces and bodies; in this they align with other Plateau Bluejay characters, for all use black face or body paint. The Blackfoot in their Sun Dance follow the specific style of the Flathead, while other Plains tribes use black in a more general way.[111]

Dancing for weather control, as among the Blackfoot and several Canadian Plains tribes, is found universally as a feature of the Spirit Dance in the Plateau. However, this, together with shamanistic curing, may be too general in nature to justify their use as criteria of relationship.[112]

Many other convincing parallels could be added, but those enumerated may serve to indicate the depth and intimacy of the relationships.

Either of two historical interpretations is possible. The two great ceremonies may be regional variations upon one theme, or the two may be basically distinct and the resemblances merely represent superficial borrowings consequent upon long contact. The latter alternative seems the more probable, despite the quantity and impressive nature of the parallels.[113] In most cases these are elements which rather readily lend themselves to separation or addition to the basic ceremonial complex. But it must be remembered that the "basic complex" of the Sun Dance is not easy to define. To a marked degree the ceremony is a concatenation of fairly discrete elements.

The Spirit Dance, on the other hand, is a highly integrated complex with the whole philosophy and content of the spirit concept at its base. Even the Bluejay adjunct is a compact whole thoroughly in accord with

[110] Noted in Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, p. 463. Exhaustive distributions for most of the elements discussed in the present chapter are to be found in Spier's survey.

[111] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249.

[112] Cf. *idem*, pp. 258–60.

[113] This interpretation was suggested and favored by Dr Robert Lowie when this chapter was read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at New Haven, December 29, 1937.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

the larger concept.[114] Does this indicate a stability greater than that of the Sun Dance? I am doubtful. The process of interchange has doubtless proceeded but slowly; slowly enough to permit the orderly-minded Plateau peoples to keep pace with rationalization and integration, but steadily enough to produce profound effects.

[114] See above.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

226 strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day [624] by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in 221 most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, 226 between June and September, varying a month or more 527 according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble 796 to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[163]

226 [163] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;